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ABSTRACT

This issue contains articles ranging from a theoretical discussion of the nature of an international language to an assessment of the implications of teaching a local form of English. The following articles are included: (1) "International English and Language Variation," by M. Lester; (2) "The English Language, Ideology, and International Communication: Some Issues Arising Out of English Teaching for Chinese Students," by C. J. Brumfit; (3) "English as an International Language: When Is a Form of English a Suitable Target for ELT Purposes?" by P. Strevens; (4) "Liberalisation of Views on Non-Standard Forms of English," by J. Norrish; (5) "English as an International Language," by R. X. Hindmarsh; and (6) "Exploring the Diversity of English," by J. Spencer. In addition to these articles, a specialised bibliography; a selected list of documents from ETIC Archives; news items; an annotated bibliography of recent books, films and tapes; and a cumulative index to ELT Documents, 1971-1976 complete the volume. (AMH)

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English as an International Language

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INTRODUCTION

This issue of *ELT Documents* contains five articles on the subject of "English as an International Language" which ranges from a theoretical discussion of the nature of an "International Language" to an assessment of the implications of teaching a local form of English.

In the first article, Dr Mark Lester poses the question of whether and to what extent there is a *de facto* understandable and acceptable range of variation in the speech of educated non-native speakers of English which might constitute a common core for international communication – an International English. If such a common core could be described, together with those features which distinguish it from native-speaker English, it might prove to be a more suitable model for the classroom than the English of native-speakers. Dr Lester suggests that too often our teaching goals – to convert our pupils into native-speakers – are unrealistic, and result in failure. Furthermore, the development of a non-native International English would have the desirable effect of legitimising the non-native speaking teacher who would be teaching a language that in a real sense, belonged to him.

However, the difficulties inherent in expressing a foreign culture through the English language are shown clearly in C J Brumfit's article. He gives examples of the English used in official announcements in China where the problem of translating meaning effectively is not just linguistic but historical, political and social as well. Unfortunately the very areas where international communication may be difficult because of ideological and cultural differences are where the language used most differs from standard English. Mr Brumfit therefore concludes:

> "if we really want to consider English as a World Language, we must be prepared to recognize dialectal differences whenever a different cultural framework is to be expressed through English."

In the third article, Professor Peter Strevens looks at what is meant by a "local form of English" and considers when such a form can be used as a suitable target for ELT purposes. He suggests that the crux of the matter is determined by social attitudes towards the use of the local form as opposed to standard English, and shows that this differs in various cases. Thus whereas countries using English as a mother tongue or as a foreign language tend to favour standard English, those using English an a second language and with their own local form well established, might well prefer to have the latter taught in their schools. Professor Strevens concludes that this would be quite acceptable provided of course that the language taught met the learners' requirements.

John Norrish examines the implications of teaching a local form of English, and shows that the attitude of the teacher towards what would traditonally have been regarded as errors would obviously have to change to accommodate the new use of language. If the aim of the learner were communication then fluency could be seen as more important than accuracy, and a functional approach to language learning given emphasis. To this end, teaching materials should preferably be produced locally, although this would of course raise the question of whether or not it was acceptable to have written materials in the local dialect.

In a talk given for the Australian Broadcasting Commission, R X Hindmarsh speaks of the necessity for having an International language and the role that English already plays in international travel, business, education and communication. As Professor Strevens states in his conclusion:

> "the native speaker of English must accept that English is no longer his possession alone: it belongs to the world, and ..... new forms of English, born in new countries with new communicative needs should be accepted into the marvellously flexible and adaptable glaxy of "Englishes" which constitute the English Language."

Finally, John Spencer contributes an eloquent plea for a fuller exploration of the great diversity of English in the teaching of it at university level. Linguists, philologists and literature specialists all need to develop a more cooperative and perhaps less dismissive attitude towards disciplines other than their own.

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INTERNATIONAL ENGLISH AND LANGUAGE VARIATION

by Mark Lester
Assistant Director for Academic Affairs

The purpose of this paper is to explore some of the theoretical and practical implications of regarding English as an international language as opposed to regarding it as the native tongue of residents of English speaking countries.

The vast bulk of language teaching is based on the assumption that the learner desires to acquire the ability to communicate with native speakers. However, not all native speakers are identical in the kind of language they speak. All languages have a variety of regional dialects and social/economic/educational registers. In a formal classroom setting, we would usually expect to learn the most important regional dialect (usually that of the principal metropolitan Area) and what would be recognized as an "educated" register. However we could imagine a situation in which the learner needed some other variety--for example a social worker who would be working with villagers in a remote province.

Assuming that a learner has settled into a language class that teaches a variety of the target language appropriate to the learner's purposes, what exactly does the learner do? I would say that the learner attempts to approximate to the linguistic competence of a native speaker of the target language (or more accurately, a native speaker of the appropriate variety of the target language). I would characterize a native speaker's linguistic competency as the ability to produce and understand novel sentences that closely correlate with the sentences that other native speakers using the same variety of language produce and understand.

Pedestrian as this characterization may seem, it does have some interesting implications. In *Cours de linguistique generale* Ferdinand de Saussure drew a basic distinction between *langue* and *parole*. *Langue* is a particular language abstracted from the speech of individual speakers of the language (*parole*). *Langue* exists "outside the individual who can never create nor modify it by himself; it exists only by virtue of a sort of contract signed by the members of a community." (Saussure p. 14.) Most language teachers have tacitly assumed this distinction between *langue* and *parole*. On one level the distinction correctly emphasizes that a learner is not merely trying to acquire a parrot-like ability to mimic the actual utterances of an individual speaker, but is trying to partake in some more general system that underlies the individual speech acts of all speakers of the language.

Saussure saw this General system as being outside of and even independent of actual speakers. It is something like a Platonic form that individual speakers participate in. "Language (*langue*) is not a function of the speaker; it is a product that is passively assimilated by the individual." (Saussure p. 14).

The difficulty with Saussure's definition of language (*langue*) is that it disembodies language from language users and views the learner as playing a relatively passive role in the process of acquisition. Put another way, the question is this: does a learner (and here we are talking about both adults acquiring a foreign tongue and children acquiring their native tongue) discover or invent the rules (i.e. the system or *langue* in Saussure's terms) of the language? One response would be that the learner discovers the rules because the language and the rules that govern it pre-date the learner and are independent of any single learner's existence. However, I would argue the contrary. What pre-dates the learner is a body of speakers of a language. What rules these speakers use to produce and understand sentences is knowledge unavailable to the learner. What is available is data, that is, the noises, written signs and actions of language users. The learner must discover for himself how people communicate, that is, he must unconsciously develop a set of rules that allows him to produce and understand sentences in the language. This development of a rule system is a unique, individual act of creation. It is in this sense that the learner invents rather than discovers the rules of the language he is learning.

It follows from this point of view that what we call a language is in reality a high order of compatability between the rule systems of a number of individuals. Each of us lives in his own private linguistic world constructed to deal with data to which each of us has been uniquely exposed. Thus it is not all surprising that there is considerable disagreement among native speakers (even members of the same household) as to exactly what is or is not grammatical when low frequency constructions and/or words are employed.

We have now discussed two sources of variation within the same language: (1) variation between groups, i.e. regional dialects and social/economic/educational registers, and (2) variation between individuals due to the very process of language acquisition. From this standpoint, a dialect or register group might be characterized as a cluster of individuals whose rule systems produce language sharing certain identifiable features.

There is also a third source of variation which bears importantly on our concept of what constitutes a native speaker of a language. In all metropolitan areas of English-speaking countries there are many individuals who speak a variety of English colored to a greater or lesser degree by a language other than English. Typically these individuals are the children of immigrant parents. They are native English speakers both in a technical sense of being a citizen by right of birth in an English speaking country and in the linguistic sense of having English as their first (and often sole) language, albeit with some passive knowledge of another language.

In the United States, at any rate, we have often tended to ignore this kind of variation, which we will call *second generation English* for lack of a better term, as being on a plane other than that of regional dialect or register varieties. I would conjecture that second generation English has been considered marginal because it appears to many native speakers to be highly unstable both in the sense that it has no linguistic coherency of its own and in the sense that speakers will tend to replace it with more standard (i.e. historical) varieties.

One may debate the linguistic validity of this observation, but that it is widespread is undeniable. An interesting aspect of it is that we could not have a sense of marginality unless we also had some sense of a central common core. For example, many speakers of English command several "accents". One accent may be a local or regional accent and the other a more urbanized accent that has neutralized the more distinctive local features. This ability to move away from localisms demonstrates some intuitive sense of a common core "accent".

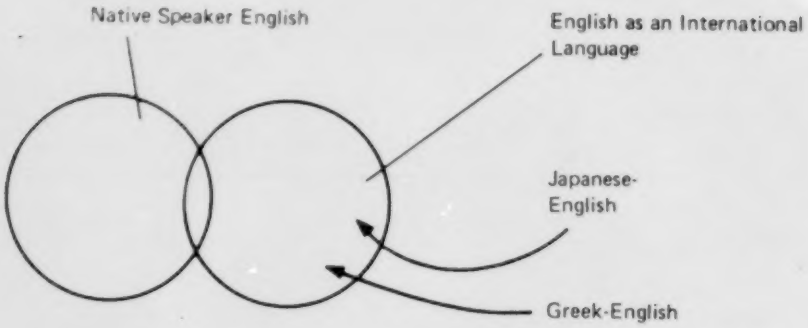
There is also a sense of a common core in register varieties in what is perhaps a more normative sense. This type of normative core is most clearly seen in developed languages (a developed language is here defined as a language for which there is a well established writing system and specialized vocabulary for most governmental and technical areas). Typically the normative core is derived from the practices of the upper range of the social/economic/educational scale. Many features of this normative core are established by and disseminated through the written language, typically in the leading newspapers and magazines and in the works of established writers.

The existence of a sense of a common core neutral "accent" and the sense of an educated prestigious norm act as powerful unifying forces in keeping the language together. If we accept the view put forward earlier that each learner creates his own private language based on the linguistic data available to him, then we need the concept of a common core accent and high status normative register to explain why each community does not develop its own unique dialect which would eventually evolve into a unique language. This, of course, is exactly what happened in the break-up of the Roman empire: the administrative and cultural networks that bound provincial Latin speaking regions to Rome collapsed, and consequently the educated Roman variety of Latin was no longer widely disseminated as a common core educated norm.

We have so far discussed three sources of linguistic variation: regional (or geographical) variation, individual variation, and what we called second generation English, that is, variation introduced by speakers influenced by other languages. It has been argued that the possibly limitless range of variation is constrained by speakers' sense of a common core "accent" and by a sense of a prestigious educated norm.

Turning now to English as an international language, we can see the same forces and attitudes at work. A naive view of international English held by some native English speakers is that it is just like second generation English only more so. In other words, since it is even further away from the common core, it is even more marginal than the English of immigrants' children. From this point of view, any sophisticated communication between two non-native speakers of English would of necessity have to take place through the medium of common core, educated norm native speaker English. We might call this the native speaker mediation view of communication. In other words, sophisticated communication in English between two non-native speakers is possible only to the extent that both speakers command a fluency in English that approaches native speaker ability.

From the standpoint of English as an international language, a perfectly satisfactory level of communication can take place between, say, Greeks and Japanese through the shared medium of English as an international language. We may represent this view by means of the following diagram:



The implication of this model is that the variety of English spoken by Japanese and the variety spoken by Greeks will converge until they fall within a range of variation that we can characterize as international English. From this point of view sophisticated communciation between Greeks and Japanese does not require the mediation of native speaker common core English. Instead international English provides its own common core and educated norm. This model is viable only if the following three conditions are met: (1) there are creolized forms of English with definable characteristics, (2) these different creolized forms of English (hereafter called contact languages) coincide to such an extent that they merge into a universal English-based contact language that can be termed international English, (3) international English has a definable common core educated norm sufficient for sophisticated communication between speakers of different native languages.

I wish I could report that there existed solid empirical evidence to prove or refute these conditions. What does exist is a suggestive assortment of bits and pieces held together by theory. I would like to briefly discuss each of the three conditions in turn:

1 **There are creolized forms of English with definable characteristics**

It may be appropriate to begin with a brief discussion about creoles, pidgins, and contact languages. *Pidgin* is an *ad hoc* creation to meet the immediate communication needs of two or more groups of people who do not have a language in common. A *creole* is the *native* language of a group (as opposed to a pidgin which is nobody's native language). Pidgins and creoles are *contact languages* that have arisen out of the interaction of speakers from two or more different languages. Typically a contact language exists side by side with its parent languages. Often over time, the contact language changes through a process known as *de-creolization* so as to resemble more and more closely one of its parent languages. However, sometimes the contact language is so robust that it displaces its parent languages. One can make a very convincing case that Middle English is such a contact language resulting from the interaction of speakers of Anglo-Saxon, Norman French and the Scandinavian languages that were then spoken in the northern part of England.

One of the most striking features of contact languages is their similarity despite the fact that they have different parent languages (over 90% of their vocabulary is drawn from their different parent languages). The outstanding linguistic characteristic of contact languages is their simplicity. Nearly all contact languages have a consonant-vowel-consonant phonological structure. All known contact languages have a subject-verb-object fixed word order. They employ many fewer transformations than their parent languages. Inflectional systems in the parent languages are almost totally replaced by particles or prepositions in the contact language. They have a simple tense/aspect which is always carried by pre-verbal particles. For example, in Hawaii English the past tense is carried by the verb *went*, e.g. *He went come=He came* in standard English. Semantic relations are often carried by pre-verbal particles. For example in Hawaiian English the imperative is overtly marked by the verb *try*, e.g. *Try come here=Come here!* in standard English.

It was argued above that each language learner creates his own language--even children learning their first language. From this point of view, an adult learning English as a foreign or second language creates his own hybridized variety of English which is his own private contact language. In a strict sense there are as many of these private contact languages as there are learners. However, there is a strong tendency for the contact language of English learners with the same native language tongue to have many features in common since the learners are drawing in part on the rule systems already developed for their native tongue. Thus most of us with experience in teaching English can usually recognize the

native languages of the students in our English classes by their characteristic "deviations" from native speaker English, i.e. by their German, Russian, or Spanish "accent".

We might conceptualize the learner as moving along a language-specific pathway of development from an initial contact language with nearly no English to a form of English that falls within the range of native speaker variation. At any given moment learners at different ability levels would be spread along this developmental pathway.

If we accept this point of view, the tasks faced by the child in learning his native tongue and the adult learning a foreign tongue are in principle the same: the learner must construct his own rule system that accommodates the linguistic data of the language being learned, that is, each learner creates his own private language which is more or less compatible with the private languages of other speakers of the same language. The higher the frequency of interaction, the more compatible the private languages will be since they share a larger common pool of linguistic data.

The child learning his native tongue and the adult foreign language learner do differ, however, in one fundamental respect: the child acquires his first language without any prior linguistic experience, while the adult brings to the second language his competence in his own native tongue. Thus the adult learner has available to him an already established rule system for his own language which he can draw on to deal with apparently similar data in the foreign language.

2 **Different contact languages converge on each other to form a universal English-based contact language**

What is being argued here is that international English is a contact language made up of contact languages. We have already seen that perhaps the single most striking characteristic of contact languages is their great similarity to each other. Thus we would *a priori* expect contact languages such as Greek-English and Japanese-English to share the universal features that all contact languages share. Moreover, this particular set of contact languages shares a common parent language-English. Thus as the individual learner progresses along the developmental pathway for the contact language resulting from the interaction of the learner's native tongue and English, the proportion of English in the contact language continually increases with a corresponding drop in the proportion of the native tongue. In this sense, the developmental pathways of contact languages move towards the same parent language, and thus converge on each other.

An important related question is Why do the learners stop with international English? In other words, Why stop with something "less" than native-speaker ability? I believe that there are three factors that tend to act as a brake on the developmental process:

(a) **Communication needs.** For most people the purpose of learning any second language is communication. When sufficient skill has been developed to meet the learner's communication needs, there may be little motivation for the learner to master increasingly idiosyncratic details, especially when they play a relatively small role in communication –an example from English would be the complete mastery of the uses of articles.

(b) **Cultural factors.** The second factor is the need to maintain a balance between linguistic and cultural roles. Suppose that by some linguistic magic a person were given native speaker ability in a foreign language. That person would know how to talk like a native but he would not know how to behave like a native. A foreign accent is a signal to the native speaker that the person with the accent cannot reasonably be expected to share the jokes, allusions and mores that are common coin to all people brought up in that culture.

(c) **Identity.** The third factor that operates against second language learners endeavouring to develop native speaker ability is that of identity. Native speaker English is the language of individuals in specific countries. Some learners acquire English with the wish of identifying with the people and culture of an English speaking country—immigrants probably being the largest group of this type. However, the vast majority of English learners around the world have no wish to detach themselves from their own cultural/national identity and form a new identity with the people and culture of a specific English speaking country. In many parts of the world English is still regarded as the language of a colonial power. In this period of de-colonization to aspire to native speaker proficiency in English is to reject local identity. The great advantage of international English is that it is not readily identified with a single country (as opposed to, say, French as an international language).

3 **International English has a definable common core educated norm sufficient for sophisticated communication between speakers of different native languages**

This, of course, is the key condition. Even if the first two conditions are met, the concept of international English is valid only if there is a stable common core. This is a topic that has not been investigated in any depth at all, through there is now a research project in this area being undertaken at the East-West Center under the leadership of my colleague Larry Smith. The topic we are immediately interested in is the extent to which there is a *de facto* understandable and acceptable range of variation in the speech of educated non-native speakers of English.

Assuming that we can establish that there is such range, the next research topic would be to identify the specific features that are critical in recognizing this range. Putting the speculative cart before the empirical horse, I would venture to predict that (1) there is an accepted range of variation in the speech of educated non-native speakers of English, and (2) there are linguistic features that are characteristic of this range (which we call international English) and which are distinct from the normal range of variation found in native speaker English. Many of these features can most easily be characterized in terms of a simplification or reduction of the rules necessary for describing native speaker English. However international English will be likely to have some innovations in the syntax/semantics area of its own. On the whole, however, there will be many more similarities between native speaker English and international English than differences. My guess is that whatever linguistic differences there are, they will be overshadowed by the register characteristics of educated speakers of international English: large and carefully used vocabulary; sophisticated linkages (e.g. *moreover, if...then*) between independent clauses and sentences; and a high degree of sentence complexity as measured by amount of embedding.

The biggest differences between native speaker English and international English will undoubtedly be in the area of phonology. An interesting related question is whether international English exists *only* as a spoken language. That is, is there a written norm for educated international English as well as spoken norm? If there does exist a written norm, it will certainly be much closer to native speaker English than the corresponding oral form. Another possibility is that there is no norm for written international English that is genuinely distinct from written native speaker English. If this is indeed the case, then native speaker and international English share the same norm for the written form of their languages. In either case, the written form(s) of English act as a powerful normative influence on the range of possible variation in the spoken form of international English.

At the beginning of this paper I said that I would deal with some of the practical implications for international English. If we accept for the moment that the three conditions discussed above are met, what implications follow for the teacher of international English? Most of the implications are the same as for any kind of language class: the material presented must be relevant to the learner's perception of his own need; communication rather than linguistic structures should be emphasized; and the learner should be encouraged to expand and test his own hypotheses about the target language.

However, there are some implications for teaching international English that are substantially at odds with conventional teaching practices in native speaker English classrooms. First and most important, international English demands a clear separation between ideal goals and real goals. In native speaker oriented classrooms the goal is to speak like a native. For most classrooms in the world this goal is totally unrealistic. Failure to reach the announced pedagogical goal is

thus built into the program. The psychological defeatism that is inherent in this approach is obvious; what is less obvious is that nobody is responsible for failure in a program that is designed to fail. Consequently, no one is forced to examine critically the teachers, the materials or the syllabus to find out why in fact the learners fail. In short, having an impossible goal excuses us from having real goals that we are responsible for. It is to be hoped that international English, since it does not aim at the stars to begin with, can provide more reasonable expectations and be more accountable for how those expectations are met.

Second, there would be less emphasis on native-like pronunciation in an international English classroom. The teacher would have somewhat greater freedom in doing oral communication exercises since there would be a wider range of accent tolerated.

Thirdly it would be likely that there was more emphasis on reading. The written language, provides a norm for international English. It is an enormously important stabilizing and standardizing force. Equally importantly, it provides the learner with instant access to the data for forming his own hypotheses about English in the de-creolization process.

Finally international English provides a more legitimate status for the non-native teacher of English, who, in most countries in the world is the backbone of the profession. As long as native speaker competence is the goal, the non-native teacher is always in a self-deprecating position. However, if we shift the frame of reference to international English, the teacher then is in the much more confident position of teaching a language that belongs to him.

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THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, IDEOLOGY AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION **Some issues arising out of English teaching for Chinese students**

C J Brumfit
University of London, Institute of Education

– Revision of a paper presented to the ninth international conference of IATEFL, Oxford University, January 1977

This paper is an attempt to explore some of the implications of discussions which I held with my two colleagues on a recent British Council Summer School last June-July at the Peking Languages Institute. To say that the discussions were 'held' is really rather inappropriate as they mainly took place in taxis, corridors and restaurants while we were intending to do something else, and they were a side-effect of our efforts to produce teaching materials appropriate to the specific situation in which we found ourselves. However, since most serious discussions on teaching take place in rather similar circumstances, and since any notion of 'English as a World Language' must enable English to accommodate itself to a culture as powerful and rich as that of China, I felt that – even if I can only pose the questions without offering answers – at least the questions with which we were preoccupied deserve our attention at a conference such as this.

The questions we were discussing centred on one major issue, which was: what criteria do we use for defining inappropriate English when English is being used to express a foreign culture? What attitude do we take to – for example – to following items of 'English'?

1. In 1975, when Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, wantonly stirred up a Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, absurd claims and strange theories were spread in Shenyang.

2. I passed the translation to the polisher for revision.

3. Those bad eggs will be punished for their wicked acts.

4. That is the Japanese leader and with him is his running dog.

5. Since we introduced our policy of open-door schooling ....

6. All of this we call the two-line struggle.

7. The propaganda team will perform at the end of your visit.

8. He is the chairman of our revolutionary committee.

9. Let us drink to the downfall of the two hegemonies.

10. Tell me about the movements at your university.

11. The people's commune is fine.

All of these are marked, to the native speaker, as in some sense bizarre, but the question the teacher has to decide on is whether they constitute elements of a legitimate dialect or whether they should be standardised. If the latter course is decided on a number of problems emerge, which we shall discuss in due course.

First, however, it is worth bearing in mind that we are perhaps more inclined now to be tolerant of dialectal diversity in the teaching of English than we have been at various times in the past. The problem of the model to be adopted – whether standard British or standard American – has preoccupied a number of teachers, and it is not very long since it was widely assumed that the goal in pronunciation for the foreign learner must be not merely native-speaker, but native speaker RP. It is not necessary to enter this controversy now, though it is by no means dead, but two observations may be helpful in the light of our present concern.

First, it is convenient to distinguish between a model and a goal. There is clearly a need, if English is being taught for international purposes, for there to be a consistent reference point for teaching. It probably does not matter very much which dialect is taken as a model, providing it is one which is intelligible internationally – though there are of course economic reasons for preferring one which has been described and for which there are already teaching materials available reasonably cheaply. However to adopt such a model is not to demand that all speakers in a particular community are expected to become indistinguishable from the model in their speech. There are a large number of near standard English speakers whose dialect is adapted to their own local cultural needs, and whose pronunciation is totally intelligible to a willing listener, who are manifestly non-native speakers of English. In most cases, these people have learnt English in a system which refers to a standard English model, but they have not attained total native speaker pronunciation, nor sometimes syntax, in terms of the model. However, since their deviation from standard English is no greater than that of most native speakers, their version of the language is – or should be – acceptable to the fullest degree. On the other hand, there are also quite clearly speakers whose English is fluent, satisfactory for communication with those who have

learnt it with them and members of their own community, who are almost totally unintelligible to the untrained native listener, or even reader. Such people, however, also exist in Britain, and are classed as native speakers of English, although their lack of intelligibility to the standard English speaker is as great as that of the foreigner just described. One of the problems we need to resolve is whether these are two examples of the same phenomenon, or whether they really are two quite different cases. Generally, though, in the interests of pupil motivation, realism, and (a point which I shall expand on later) cultural appropriacy, the best *goal* for the non-native speaker is the English of the most educated and articulate speakers of English in his own linguistic group.

The second point which deserves investigation is the role of meaning in transfer from model to target language. Most of the discussion of models has concentrated on the comparatively easily describable features of pronunciation and syntax. Everything becomes much more difficult when we turn to semantics, if only because there is a great deal of room for disagreement even among speakers of the same dialect about what their utterances really mean. Indeed, one sometimes feels that it is easier to demonstrate that communication cannot possibly take place than that it can!

One of the major difficulties in the discussion of semantics is to limit the range of discussion. Quite apart from the fact that there is uncertainty about whether one is in the domain of linguistics, psychology, or philosophy, and therefore about what procedures and notational systems are appropriate in the discussion of semantic issues, there is the fundamental problem of where to stop, because logically any discussion of meaning can lead us into an attempt to categorise the world, and such a categorisation takes us far beyond the scope of traditional language teaching concerns.

When we become aware of this, there is a strong temptation to retreat, either backwards into a position which defends traditional language concerns and refuses to be drawn into anything wilder (thus neglecting what is undoubtedly the fundamental aspect of language – meaning), or sideways into mysticism to a position which admits the relevance of meaning but which simply argues for a concern for the 'whole person' without being prepared to submit this concept to any careful scrutiny on the (usually unthought-out) grounds that the concerns of the language teacher are simply too complicated for serious discussion. Of course one can sympathize with this position, but it is fair to say that the wilder claims of simulators and role-players in language development courses, or indeed of the exponents of group work, usually appear to be based on a retreat from understanding, rather than an advance, however tentative, towards it.

It is not the intention of this paper, then, to argue that we already know enough about how we use language to define ourselves, both individually and socially, but it is proposed that this is an area which badly needs more serious discussion

and investigation – *in the foreign language context* – than it has received so far, and that this discussion must have major implications for our methodology in the teaching of E.F.L. Even if we admit that recent discussion of the ways in which we use language have not been noted for their clarity and rigour, we must surely accept that language is used, by individual speakers, for a wide range of purposes, and that these purposes go far beyond the range of those traditionally accepted in the foreign language class. Perhaps it is time for us to begin to ask how the classrooms of today are going to look in ten years' time: to explore, in other words, the significance of today's sociolinguistic and psycho-sociological ideas for the language teaching class.

I want to argue that apparently non-communicative functions of language may be of considerable importance in helping to answer questions apparently and concerned with communication like the one which I started this paper with, and that our greater understanding of language as a phenomenon in the last few decades should help us to understand the problems of learners of English, and particularly learners of English for world-wide, rather than for English, purposes.

In order to clarify the argument, let us take the examples already given of 'Chinese English', and discuss some of the issues which they present, both collectively and individually.

Let us first of all eliminate some possible false lines of discussion. We are not talking about simple 'interference' or 'translation' problems. It would be possible, from a psycholinguistic point of view, to analyze the examples I have given and show that they were (or were not) derived from Chinese originals, or alternatively that Chinese learners of English tended to produce these variations from standard English only at certain stages of the learning process – that they were features perhaps of an 'interlanguage'. While I shall not deny the usefulness of such information, it should be pointed out that such "explanations' account for the origins of the deviant English but not for the motivation for it. *Why* has the mother tongue intruded at this point rather than any other? 'Interference' occurs far less often than it should if it is considered an explanation rather than a description. To answer the *why* questions we need to look far more closely at the speaker/writer's relationship with English.

At the same time, however, we must avoid a position of complete relativism in which, even for the foreign learner, whatever is, is right. The hearer/reader has to interpret utterances and texts, and his expectations are necessary features in the assessment of satisfactory communication; but at the same time he has a responsibility to understand in which he is expected to be active, not passive. FL teaching must avoid the neo-Whorfian position of some mother tongue discussion, where the learner is almost assumed to be incapable of conceptualizing what he has not created himself through language, but it must admit the value of the intimate relationship between the participants in a unique speech act and the

language used in its unique combination of functions, functions which are necessary for the participants themselves. Effective communication, in other words, must be partly dependent on the learner's full engagement with the language for purposes which go beyond merely conveying messages in pseudo-language about pseudo-situations in pseudo-rooms (classrooms).

Effective communication is also dependent upon the active and co-operative participation of the listener or reader. The speaker must recognize what limitations there are on the learner's ability to decode the message and he must adapt his message to take into account these limitations. The listener/reader must also come half-way to meet the speaker/writer.[1] But, as the Chinese examples sometimes illustrate very clearly, goodwill and the ability to operate a common core of English words and concepts may not in themselves be enough.

Let us, then, fairly briefly, consider the eleven sentences – all of them extant in English in the Chinese situation – and some of our problems with them. The first point worth making is that, to people familiar with the idiom, none of them – except perhaps the last – poses a major problem: it is possible to understand what is meant quite easily and the problem could be seen to be largely a matter of an unfamiliar semi-technical vocabulary. Let me take the examples one by one and make some comments on the problems they pose an English-bred English speaker.

1. **In 1975, when Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, wantonly stirred up a Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, absurd claims and strange theories were spread in Shenyang.**

– This is included to show that, typically, unfamiliar forms cluster round points where there is major cultural deviation from British or American practice. Apart from register problems with *arch, wantonly*, etc., there are difficulties in assimilating *capitalist roader, Right deviationist wind* and *to reverse correct verdicts* into English at all. The former two may be read as metaphorical expressions which make sense in the context of Marxist discussion, even if the exact expression of *capitalist roader* may seem a little quaint, but *reverse correct verdicts* requires an awareness of a particular point in Chinese political arguments in 1975, so that any 'normal' English version would either require a brief history of the political situation in Peking in the last two years or – more laconically, would say 'In 1975, when Teng Hsiao-ping argued against current thinking, absurd claims .....' Neither of these would be strictly a version of the original.

All of this is to illustrate the problem for the proponent of English as a World Language. In many cultures problems of the historical, political, social and religious significance of concepts expressed in English will prevent the meaning being immediately apparent to anyone except those who have familiarized themselves with those significances by much reading and cultural contact. But mixed in with these admitted problems will be others that may possibly be more obvious and familiar difficulties for the teacher of E.F.L. Some of these can be seen in the other examples.

2. **I passed the translation to the polisher for revision.**

– A 'polisher' is a person who polishes up translations. The term was new to me, but it may exist elsewhere. It seems to be a legitimate English formation, though with a slight possibility of confusion with other polishers who deal with more material objects, but it could clearly be an acceptable term.

3. **Those bad eggs will be punished for their wicked acts.**

– 'Bad eggs' was a systematic translation for 'villain' in films or operas. Our only real ground for objection, presumably, is that (unlike – for me at least – 'polisher') we are familiar with this term, even if distantly and the archaic and Hentyish flavour is inappropriate.

4. **That is the Japanese leader and with him is his running dog.**

– Here we have something more problematic. 'Running dog', I was assured, is a direct translation and means 'lackey'. In modern English we have some trouble with both the concept and the term. Yet those of us who are familiar (for example via Radio Peking) with Chinese political invective will be familiar enough with both the term and the idea. For us at least 'running dog' is marked firmly '+ Chinese communist polemic' in our lexicon and we have few difficulties. 'Lackey' might be harder to fit, and again a perfect modern equivalent would be difficult to find.

5. **Since we introduced our policy of open-door schooling....**

6. **All of this we call the two-line struggle.**

7. **The propaganda team will perform at the end of your visit.**

8. **He is the chairman of our revolutionary committee.**

9. **Let us drink to the downfall of the two Hegemonies.**

10. **Tell me about the movements at your university.**

— All of these examples pose a fairly straightforward problem of technical terms: they can all be glossed and then understood. But to the native-speaking listener, unfamiliar with China, there are a number of problems of different kinds. For example, we can all understand something by 'revolutionary committee' and some institutions in Britain and Europe even possess ones of their own, but in China this is the name given to the general administrative committee of any institution and any connection with furthering revolution in the sense that we use it is misleading. On the other hand a 'propaganda team' poses a slightly different problem. Given the situation that political and moral exhortation is endemic in the arts in the People's Republic, it is scarcely surprising that a school dramatic society should be called a 'propaganda team'. But if we translated it as 'dramatic society' we should lose an important aspect of its meaning in the Chinese context. Notice also how the situation is further confused by the ambiguities in the word 'propaganda' itself. It is probably a pejorative term outside left politics but within that context it has a perfectly respectable meaning. Our reaction to the appropriacy or otherwise of the Chinese term will be determined by, among other factors, our familiarity with – and our degree of sympathy with – the language of the political left. Such familiarity, it is worth adding, may be misleading: a Chinese 'cadre' is not even necessarily a member of the party, unlike his European counterpart, while it is knowledge of China, rather than knowledge of Marxism, which will help us to deal with 'movement' (example 10). The usage given here I have since encountered in a book discussing student political activity in Peking in the 1890s – not all the technical terms are those of the regime.

11. **The people's commune is fine.**

— Finally, I refer to one official translation from Chairman Mao which does pose problems. For a start, it is not immediately clear out of context (and this is a translation of a slogan which usually does appear out of context) whether this means 'The people's commune is a good thing' or whether it means 'The people's commune is not ailing, it is thriving'. Leaving aside the complicated

arguments about the precise nature of the deviance, it is worthwhile to point out that this particular kind of ambiguity will not be resolved by reference to usage in any specialized field, as 'fine' is not a techical term. 'Fine' can only be used in a context, and where no context is provided an alternative such as 'good', must be used. Here, the statement 'But this is not English' would rest on securer ground than with any of the other examples, because there is an unambiguous and totally clear alternative (in fact it means 'a good thing').

I hope I have said enough about these examples to suggest that the question (if comprehension is to be maintained at all) of whether to be flexible is really irrelevant: the real question is what criteria we should use for flexibility. This is not an easy question to answer because in all situations (the Chinese examples only make a general principle strikingly clear) major differences from English or American practice will only be necessary in the areas where there is an inexpressible cultural difference. And these will be precisely the points where ideology makes international communication particularly difficult. To take a concrete example, a Chinese using English for propaganda purposes has to decide whether he wants the language to be clearly marked as Marxist, and as Chinese, among other selection decisions. The question must be in part one of revolutionary purity. If the message comes over in undeviant English then the (alien) revolutionary force will be diluted (e.g. 'propaganda team' becomes 'dramatic society'). If the message comes over in deviant English then there is a risk of alienating potential sympathizers. Only an ideological decision can solve this apparently linguistic problem, but this sort of interaction, between psychological and philosophical position and linguistic choice, is characteristic of all language-using situations precisely because of the compromise between the speaker/writer and the listener/reader which was referred to earlier.

This analysis so far seems to me to suggest that, if we really want to consider English as a World Language, we must be prepared to recognize dialectal differences whenever a different cultural framework is to be expressed through English, and not only in the second language situation. Insofar as French speakers need to express concepts which, being French, do not fit easily into English, they need to use language which does not become confused with that which expresses concepts that are descriptive of English culture. This expression may operate at the psychological level (he may wish to be marked as a Frenchman, for example by retention of a French accent) as well as at the level of ideology. But the psychological needs of the learner, while they are recognized in theory by our emphasis on individualization, do not appear in our formation of the objectives of English

teaching. We still assume (and this applies to much of the recent discussion of notional syllabuses) that there is a package of the English language which can be described in terms of the meaning, the syntax and the pronunciation of 'native speakers' and which can be presented to foreign learners. But no-one who is not intolerably alienated from his own environment is going to want to learn English in order to become an Englishman (or an American) to such an extent that he never uses it to express the ideology, the assumptions, the cultural basis of himself rather than of Englishmen. We have the strange paradox that in mother tongue teaching we emphasize the clarity of the child's ability to express *himself*, while in the foreign language we demand that he express a culture of which he has scarcely any experience. Is it surprising that many students find it difficult to feel fully involved as they imitate what they are not?

Of course, to recognize that English is being adopted by the Chinese for particular purposes, and that these purposes are closely bound up with the teaching strategies used, are not in themselves enough. We must have a common core of ideas expressible in English. But this common core surely needs a more dynamic model than that suggested by the concept of 'notions'. It is difficult to see how 'notions' can be turned into the kind of ordered, hierarchic taxonomy appropriate for the basis for a syllabus (though this is not the place to go into full details of the argument). I would like to suggest, however, that the concepts commonly expressed in the 'notional' discussion are for more fluid – less linguistic if you like and more culturally and psychologically orientated – than has been recognized so far. If this suggestion is helpful, we might well try to discard the 'package' theory of language and concentrate our methodological efforts on procedures which enable our students to produce discourse which is authentic to them. (Much of the discussion of authentic discourse at this conference has concentrated on packages of great local authenticity which are 'overhead' by 'spy' tape recorders. I do not dispute the value of the learner with the language he is learning and those who speak it – including his fellow-learners – is of equally high priority).

The kind of language which I am suggesting we have neglected in the FL class for far too long is 'exploratory' language, 'groping' language. For too long we have demanded accuracy by criteria which are only appropriate for native speakers at the expense of both fluency and appropriacy *to the FL speaker*. We need to devise a methodology which will enable the learner to *use* the language, not passively in relation to situations which are imposed by motivations and ideologies not his own, but actively as a product of his own needs. We need to let him mould his English to his perceptions, and perhaps mould his perceptions to English at the same time. We need, also, to move away from the current concern with techniques and materials to a fuller concern with methodology proper – an illumination of the relationship between the teacher, the student and the language, in which the interaction of language and personality – at both a social and an individual level – takes precedence over the 'language package' model. EFL must see itself as an educational, not merely a technical concern.

At the beginning of this paper it was suggested that questions could be posed but that answers could not be offered. I would like to claim that these questions are very important and interesting questions, indeed vital ones if English is to be a language used *by* the world rather than imposed *on* the world. In conclusion I would like to indicate a few general areas which might provide helpful lines for investigation and a few suggestions for how the classroom could respond to this approach.

We know very little – still – about how knowledge is transmitted through language, but the work of anthropologists like Mary Douglas[2] or of ethnomethodologists[3] may increasingly help the discussion. We are beginning to know much more, through the work of people like Goffman, Birdwhistoll and others[4] about how language functions as one of a number of interactional systems for a variety of self-expressive and self-defensive purposes. We are also – very slowly – beginning to discover how language is frequently used in the classroom.[5] From these and other studies a picture should develop of language as an entity which responds to and modifies culture and ideology. At the same time if we can demand that classes talk more freely and exploratorily, for example, by giving them problems to solve of varying complexity,[6] if we can ask for a different kind of teacher intervention, and for a greater recognition of the pupil's need to become fluent and authentic to himself, as well as internationally intelligible, we shall be providing – I suggest – a much more appropriate contribution to the development of English as a World Language.

References

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2. e.g. Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols* (1970), Penguin Books, and (ed.) *Rules and Meanings*, Penguin (1973).

3. Roy Turner (ed.) *Ethnomethodology*, Penguin (1974).

4. e.g. Erving Goffman, *Encounters* (1961) Penguin and papers by Goffman, Birdwhistoll and others in John Laver and Sandy Hutcheson (eds.) *Communication in Face to Face Interaction*, Penguin (1972).

5. Succinctly surveyed in Michael Stubbs, *Language, Schools and Classrooms* Methuen (1976), Chapters 5-7.

6. See papers by M. Long, R. Allwright and C.J. Brumfit in ELT Documents 76-3 (1977), The British Council, and much discussion on the second language situation in Britain (e.g. Jim Wight, Language through the Looking Glass in Ideas no 31, July 1975, University of London Goldsmith's College).

ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE When is a local form of English a suitable target for ELT purposes?

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The question of what forms of English can be accepted as models for teaching English is once again the centre of hot debate. The topicality of this question can be illustrated in several ways. First, by reference to the fierce controversy in Britain about the status of social dialects in relation to education. This controversy seeks answers to questions such as: whether it is true that being brought up in a working-class home leads to a distinctive command of English, compared with a middle-class upbringing; whether working-class English is simply to be noted as a difference, or whether it has the character of a deficit; to what extent if at all should teachers of English in Britain acknowledge the existence of class dialects and accents?

A second illustration of topicality is provided by the publication in 1974 of *The English of Singapore and Malaysia*, by R. K. Tongue. The books gives a good description of two rather similar forms of English with wide currency in South-East Asia. The author says: 'My own preference is to treat the standard forms of ESM as local dialectal variants similar to those which exist between British and American usage....'

A third example is offered by a remarkable series of articles by Braj Kachru on various aspects of Indian English. Indian English has been rather thoroughly documented by these articles, so that there is no longer any excuse for the ignorant and insulting popular views of Indian English that are still held in Britain, even by some ELT professionals. But more importantly, Professor Kachru has placed and analysis of Indian English firmly within a sound framework of theoretical and descriptive linguistics, while still writing in a style easily accessible to the non-specialist reader. We shall return later to Kachru's work on Indian English.

A final illustration of topicality is the recent article by Larry Smith in the *TESL Reporter* for Fall, 1976, entitled 'ESOL – EIAL: a position paper on the teaching/learning of English as an International Auxiliary Language'. Mr Smith's paper represents a change away from the conventional United States attitude that ELT is a matter of teaching the Americans' (or the Britishers') mother tongue, and it shows a considerable movement in the direction of an internationalist attitude towards the English language.

The subject, then, is topical. Within the scope of the subject as a whole, this paper concentrates on a practical question which concerns a great many teachers in Britain and American, in Asia, Africa and South America, and elsewhere: 'When is a local form of English a suitable target for ELT purposes?' In discussing the question we

shall first look at what is meant by 'a local form of English'; next we shall consider what is meant by the 'suitability' of a form of English for ELT purposes; finally we shall suggest in what circumstances such suitability is most likely to occur.

1 What is meant by 'a local form of English'?

English is used by an enormous speech-community, probably of 600 million people, of whom about 300 million are speakers of English as their mother tongue, while a further 300 million have learned it in addition to their mother tongue. In considering the world's international languages, what matters is the total community of those who *use* a language, not the much smaller population of native speakers. And the larger the number of users, the larger the number of differentiated versions of the language which will develop within the total envelope of 'English'.

Why is English so widespread, geographically? It is easy to trace the main historical outlines of the spread of English over the world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But exploration, trade and conquest are not sufficient by themselves to ensure that a language becomes accepted for use by others as well as by those for whom it is the mother tongue. The Portuguese language illustrates the point: Portuguese, too, was carried across the world by a dominant European trading nation, and it had the additional impetus of being spread with the crusading fire of the militant Catholic Church. Yet today the Portuguese language, although widely distributed in geographical terms, is used almost solely as the mother tongue of the Portuguese and Brasilian peoples, and hardly at all as a language of international communication.

Why should English have developed as a language used intensively by other communities, when Portuguese has not done so? There are many possible reasons, of which these three may be crucial:– (i) English is a *borrowing* language. It has ways of taking the names of ideas and things from other cultures and expressing them in English without native speakers of English feeling that the so-called 'purity' of their language is threatened thereby. (ii) At the same time it possesses a great range of rules for the formation of new words--- Appendix I of the *Grammar of Contemporary English* (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik) contains 56 pages on word-formation. English, it would seem, is well-adapted for development and change. (iii) English is the language in which has been principally conducted the genesis of the Second Industrial Revolution.

A complete description of the growth of English in modern times would require more elements than these to be taken into account, but the ones we have touched on may serve to indicate some of the stronger reasons why English today is used by such a vast number of people and comprises such an immense number of different varieties.

From a brief consideration of the historical parallel of English and Portuguese, and from inherent reasons why English has become so widespread, we now turn to the definition of a 'form of English'.

Why is such a term needed? Because when we use conversational labels such as 'Singapore English', 'New Zealand English', 'West African English', etc we are referring to a class of complex clusters of language events for which no general term exists, yet which hold a central place in sociolinguistic and educational decision-making.

Forms of English differ from each other in two ways: first, in their geographical and socio-political affinities to other forms of English; second, in the particular range of varieties, from among the total possible range, that are actually used by a given English-using community.

Geographical and socio-political affinities. The form of English used by a given English-using community does not exist in a vacuum: it normally exhibits similarities with other forms of English in the same geographical area, and it displays socio-political affinities with other forms of English. Thus, 'West African English' is obviously more like 'East African English' than, say, Australian English; its socio-political affinities are with other independent, black African, English-using communities--- and therefore not with, say 'South African English', or 'West Indian English'. At the same time, every form of English aligns decisively with one or other of the two main branches of the English language: British or American.

These affinities can be seen in a rough diagrammatic form as a 'family tree' of English (Fig. 1) Note that these affinities between forms of English can be described by a diagram which includes both L1 forms and L2 forms.

Varieties: This is not the place to attempt a detailed analysis of the varieties of English, the study of which has become both subtle and complex. One kind of analysis is provided by sociolinguistics; descriptive studies of English provide another: for example, Quirk *et al* list six classes of varieties, each containing several different members. Their variety classes are: Region; Education and social standing; Subject matter; Medium; Attitude; Interference. Another, simplified analysis (based on work by Halliday, Ellis, Catford, myself and others) divides varieties into three main types: (i) Varieties defining the User: these relate to the individual's *dialect* and *accent*, to the concept of 'Standard English', to differences between English as the individual's mother tongue (L1) and as a language learned subsequently (L2), to the identification of two major 'families' of English varieties --- British and American --- and in short to those features of individuality, of a person's geographical origin and his social and educational background, that mark off one speaker or writer of English from another; (ii) Varieties defining the Use being made of English: these relate to the medium used (speech or writing), to features of subject matter, to special vocabulary, to markers of particular occupations, etc; (iii) Varieties defining the Social Relations between the speaker or writer and those he is addressing: these relate to degrees of formality and informality, familiarity, convergence and divergence, and so forth. (Strevens 1972, 1977).

Range of Varieties. Some forms of English possess larger numbers of identifiable varieties than others do. On the whole, L1 forms possess more varieties than L2 forms; some L2 forms possess near-pidgin varieties which do not occur in L1 forms. The precise number and nature of the varieties used in a given form of English is not material to this argument: what matters is the observation that forms of English differ in this way.

Local forms of English are easier to examplify than to define. As indicated above, they are of two types: L1 (mother-tongue) local forms and L2 (Foreign language) local forms. L1 local forms would include: Tyneside English; Cockney; Dublin English: South Wales English; West Indies English (with distinctive versions for many individual islands); Tristan da Cunha English; and so on. Notice that L1 local forms normally co-exist with, but are distinct from, Standard English dialect spoken with an 'educated' accent; but there are always occasions when most members of the community will prefer to use the local form.

L2 local forms include: Scottish (Gaelic-speakers') English: West African English: Singapore English: Samoan English: Philippines English; the large number of different forms of Indian English; and many more.

The two types of variable discussed above (i.e. location on the family tree and particular set of varieties) together determine a given 'form of English'. A definition of the term might be as follows: A form of English is that particular constellation of dialect and accent with a particular accompanying array of varieties, having affinities with either British or American English, which is current in a given English-using community.

2 The suitability of forms of English for educational purposes

An L1 local form does not normally serve as an educational model. For example, Cockney is not *taught as a model* of English for British children, even in London. Native speakers of English are taught how to operate Standard --- the non-local 'educated' dialect --- and how to speak it with an accent that is not so strongly marked that it is unintelligible outside the immediate locality. British children are not normally made to give up their local form of English --- though that used to be regarded as a necessary piece of social demolition, half a century ago --- but the local form is not set up as a target to be achieved. If the local form of English is considered at all, it is simply taken for granted as a sort of communually-shared base-line.

Such are the educational conventions about what constitutes a suitable educational model in *this* English L1 country, Britain, at least. They arise from the attitudes of native speakers of English towards their own language and towards the teaching of English for use in their own country.

This is the central issue: criteria of pedagogical models of English are determined by social attitudes towards the language. And there are crucial differences between the attitudes of English L1 communities and those of English L2-using communities. It is time for the ELT profession to recognise these differences, to understand the consdequences of these different attitudes, and to accept that they may lead to models of English being used in schools that are unfamiliar in L1 countries.

The great majority of native speakers of English, whether British, American, Australian, New Zealand or any other, are effectively monolingual (school instruction in foreign language notwithstanding). They are generally unaware of multilingual conditions: in particular they do not realize that for many millions of people English has become an essential and inherent part of daily life, even though it is not their mother tongue. Referring to 'Third World countries such as the Indian sub-continent, the West Indies, or Africa', Kachru says ('Models of English for the Third World' 1976): 'In these countries the English language is not taught as a vehicle to introduce British or American culture. In these countries, English is used to teach and maintain the indigenous patterns of life and culture, to provide a link in culturally and linguistically pluralistic societies, and to maintain a continuity and uniformity in educational administrative and legal systems.' Elsewhere ('The New Englishes and old Models') he makes a related point: '...the second language varieties of English have acquired numerous roles over an extended period --- in some cases almost two centuries --- and as a result have been embedded in the native socio-cultural and linguistic matrix of the area where they are used.' Under these conditions it is to be expected not only that a local form of English should grow up, but also that members of the community should accept and indeed prefer the use of this local form. Ray Tongue quotes Singapore's Representative to the United Nations as saying: "... I should hope that when I'm speaking abroad my country-men will have no problem recognising that I am a Singaporean."

In many parts of the world, then, those who use English have attitudes towards their local L2 form of English not greatly different from the attitudes which native speakers have towards their L1 form of English: they take it for granted as part of their corporate cultural identity. But these identities are not the same in the two cases; it is part of the identity of the L2-using community *not* to be the same as the British or the Americans. Language education in a given country, therefore, may need for pragmatic reasons to include English, but the pedagogical model selected for English must reflect local or regional characteristics. It must (a) be mutually intelligible with all other national and international forms, but (b) it must also be different from all others, and (c) recognisably an L2 form, not an L1 form.

We have reached a preliminary answer to the question, When is a local form of English suitable for ELT purposes? The first approximation to an answer is, When a local L2 form exists and is felt by the local speech community to be a desirable form. But two remain to be pursued: first, if there is more than one local L2 form, what then is the pedagogical solution? And second, what if there is *no* local L2 form?

In fact, where a local L2 form exists at all, it exists with several varieties. What can be expected to emerge is not a single form of English, but a cline, a scale of 'Englishes' ranging by imperceptibly small differences from, at one extreme, Standard English with some special local vocabulary and expression, spoken with an accent identified with the local educated community, to, at the other extreme, a local dialect, perhaps a local pidgin, with a local and strongly-marked accent. My own experience of English in West and East Africa confirms and finds a parallel in Ray Tongue's description of English in Singapore and Malaysia and in Braj Kachru's analysis of the many different kinds of Indian English. And it can be seen that in these countries the scale of 'Englishes' relates in broad terms both to levels of educational achievement and to the complexity of the individual's communicative needs. Those who most often require to understand and be understood by English-users of another country are almost always those with more education than the average. Those whose needs for communicating in English are fully met by the local near-pidgin are generally those with the least education.

It seems that ELT must aim at a moving target: the further an individual proceeds up the educational scale, the more closely his local L2 form of English needs to conform to standards of international intelligibility. Standards of attainment that are adequate at the lower levels are insufficient at a higher level. As Kachru says ('New Englishes'): 'The universality of pedagogical models is suspect: it has to be sacrificed for local socio-political, educational and communicative aims.' There is a difficult problem here: how to identify and teach at each educational level a form of English adequate for the needs at that level, neither insufficient (which would place a burden of deficit upon the individual) nor too sophisticated (which would be a burden on teaching resources). We can be encouraged by the fact that on the whole it happens: standards achieved do roughly match the progression we have been discussing.

Local L2 forms do not develop everywhere. The kinds of distinction we have been making between more-strongly marked and less-strongly marked forms of English are of great importance where such forms exist: elsewhere the principles involved are without relevance. The distinction between those areas where L2 forms do exist and those areas where they have not developed is broadly that which is already acknowledged as dividing the 'English as a *Second* Language' (ESL) areas (where English plays important roles in the community, as described earlier in this paper), from the English as a *Foreign* Language' (EFL) areas (where English has no special presence or role in the community). (1)

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(1) The terms EFL and ESL are sometimes used in ways that blur the important distinction which they were coined in order to illustrate. To talk of 'ESL in Britain (or America) but EFL abroad' seems to me a professional solecism as well as being confusing. Teachers should be encouraged to think of ELT as being *EFL* in places where English is a *foreign* language and *ESL* in places where English is a *second* language. The special uses of English referred to in this paper are clear examples of *ESL* conditions.

In EFL areas there exists no local L2 form of English: consequently the most suitable pedagogical model is usually a native-speaker model. In foreign language teaching generally, the normally-accepted target is that of the educated, metropolitan native speaker. Exceptions can occur: Togo provides a possible counter-example. In Togo, English is a *foreign* language, but with Ghana and Nigeria so close, and given the wide public acceptance of West African English, it is not unreasonable if in Togo, too, this ESL form becomes the target even in an EFL country. West African English seems a more suitable target for Togo children than UK or US English.

3 Conclusion

The conclusions to which this analysis leads one are principally these: (i) different models of English are likely to be suitable in EFL areas, as contrasted with ESL areas; (ii) in EFL areas, it is generally appropriate to teach a native-speaker model (British, American, Australian – New Zealand, etc); (iii) in ESL areas where local L2 forms have developed and where they command public approval it is these forms which constitute the most suitable models for use in schools, certainly more suitable than a British or American L1 model; (iv) the standards of achievement at different levels in the educational system should relate to the expanding communicative requirements of the citizen as he continues his education — the more education he receives, the more widely intelligible in English he should be; and (v) the native speaker of English must accept that English is no longer his possession alone: it belongs to the world, and new forms of English, born of new countries with new communicative needs, should be accepted into the marvellously flexible and adaptable galaxy of 'Englishes' which constitute the English language.

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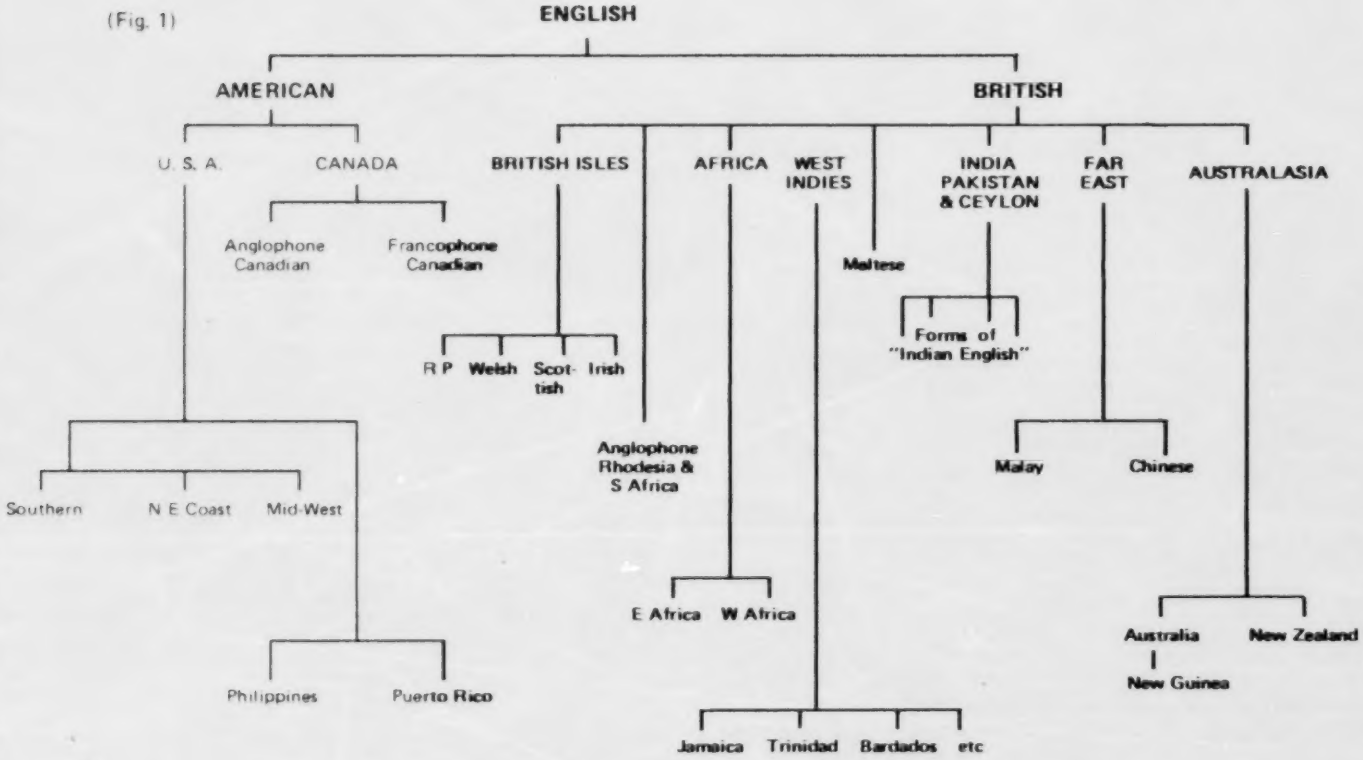
(Fig. 1)



Family Tree of English-using Communities both L1 and L2, i.e. labels for Forms of English.

LIBERALISATION OF VIEWS ON NON-STANDARD FORMS OF ENGLISH

by John Norrish

As Peter Strevens remarks, there has been a resurgence of interest in the controversy concerning non-standard and standard forms as teaching models of the English Language. That the subject has led to strongly opposing views can be seen in just two quotations from relevant literature. Arthur King (1971:2) writes, "....native English speakers of English as second language to conform: the latter no longer recognise the need to do so." In the same year we read Macmillan quoting the *Economist* on the plight that it believed English had got into: the language is referred to as "the new internationalese, the Esperanglish, the language of international unintelligibility, rushing headlong to total discommunication" (3.1. 1970). But earlier than this, in 1968, in one of the most widely known polemics against any official status being accorded to any form except a recognised standard, Prator had suggested that the view was essentially a British Heresy, despite the fact that Joseph Greenberg had, in 1966 (p. 251) indicated that there was ample reason to question the assumption that the European languages used in Africa should be the same as the metropolitan forms. In this short article, I want to trace briefly the changing attitudes in language teaching that have helped to lead towards this new and altogether more liberal position, then to look at some examples where different varieties are used in a country which I take to be fairly typical of the second language situation, Ghana, and finally to touch on some of the problems that could arise in the classroom as a result of this shift of model.

1 Recent ideas in language teaching theory and their effect on the varieties issue

Of the three points that I want to consider here, the first two are parts of the same idea, namely that the learner brings something with him to the language learning situation. The third concerns the effect on language of the situation in which it occurs. Firstly, there has been a change in the attitude of some teachers of English towards the errors made by their students. The whole notion of error is changing, and failure to encode a message in the manner of a first language speaker is not so often viewed as an indictable offence as it was formerly, but rather more as an indicator that a learning activity is taking place, the "errors" indicating a temporary transitional stage in the ability to use the language. An argument that has been advanced against local forms is that they simply represent transitional stages (Birnie, 1974) or linguistic immaturity. But this argument is almost impossible to prove or disprove, since the attitudes of the "GCE Elite" to forms other than the standard will not necessarily reflect their own or others' unself-conscious usage. In a second language situation, there are perfectly viable models

in use outside the English Language classroom competing with the standard form taught inside. To relate the tendency to be influenced by these alternatives to laziness or carelessness is to miss the point completely. This leads me to my second point, namely that what counts for better communication in a situation where language is being used for a communicative purpose may be fluency rather than accuracy. (cf. Allwright 1976, where he indicated that students with higher levels of accuracy were not necessarily those who could communicate best in English in communication games.) The third point concerns the roles of the second language in a multilingual society. When used as a lingua franca in, say, a market, the forms of language used will clearly differ from those used in, say, a commercial office, or on a parade ground. This is as true of a second language country as of one in which the language is spoken as a mother tongue. A perfect standard form would be just as inappropriate in a market as "market English" would be in a classroom. To teach only one form of English, then, would seem to be asking for a conflict between the different Englishes in use. A more fruitful approach would be to consider the different uses of English in a particular country. Before considering this from a teaching angle, let us look at an example of a country in which English is used as a second language, Ghana.

2 Uses of English in Ghana

Since Ghana is a multilingual society, English is used in a number of situations, notably those in which there is a mix of first language backgrounds. English is the official language, the language of government; it is also used in the armed forces, the civil service, the police force, and as the medium of instruction from about the third year of schooling, but the use of the mother tongue for the first two years is an ideal rather than a reality, especially in urban schools where children may come from a number of different areas. English also serves, as I indicated above, as a lingua franca if there is no Ghanaian language common to speakers. In an important study, Jean Ure (1976) examines use of English in different situations in Ghana; she finds that in the domains of books and newspapers, use of English is nearly 100%; in radio and TV, education, sport and religion it is well over 50%, and even in the home and the market, there is some use of English, although under 25%. "From this it appears that there are few areas where English is not, or could not easily be used" (p2). Given these domains, where the majority of messages will pass between Ghanaians, there is no immediately obvious reason why a local form of English should not be expected or even encouraged by appropriate bodies such as the West African Examinations Council. A more liberal approach would at least bring targets into line with actual events, since there is evidence now to the effect that while in some instances speakers may be perfectly capable of speaking a close approximation to RP, this is nevertheless felt to be inappropriate. Ghana Broadcasting have expressed the aim that their staff announcers should sound authentically Ghanaian while avoiding, if this is possible, phonological interference which would indicate their Ghanaian first language. Again, the head of English of a large secondary school in the Cape Coast area stated that he would hope that his students would speak

English like Ghanaians. The West African Examinations Council use a West African (Ghanaian) voice to read the aural comprehension passage in GCE O level English. Students in Teacher Training Colleges have been overheard speaking a far more Ghanaian form of English outside the classroom than they produce inside it. Referring to "falling standards" in English will not alter this fact.

3 Local written forms

Teaching towards, or at least tolerating, local speech forms is one thing, but when forms seen as "deviant" are produced in writing, teachers have misgivings. Birnie (1974) claimed that Ghanaian written English did not exist. His experiment was performed under extremely restricted conditions, however, and could not be held reasonably to have shown that certain non-standard English written forms would or would not be tolerated or noticed by a significant number of educated Ghanaians, since his tests, consisting of Ghanaian undergraduate students "marking" examination papers, would result in an error-seeking procedure which would focus attention on the manner of communication rather than the content.

In literature, there are precedents for non-standard written forms, both first language dialect (for example, *Tom Sawyer*) and second language forms (Tutuola's *The Palm Wine Drinkard*), but relatively few teachers in the classroom have the confidence to say of a passage which contains items traditionally regarded as "deviant" that "it communicates". This brings me on to the most sensitive area in the discussion of the acceptability of local models, the classroom. Here the problem, or set of problems surrounding literacy raises itself early on. As in first language countries when learners do not speak the standard dialect, there are difficulties when the forms of the reading material do not conform to those used by the learner. This has led in Britain to the "Breakthrough to Literacy" approach, with pupils producing their own materials. This leads to non-standard forms being incorporated into the materials; would this be tolerable in a second language situation?

4 Questions – and a few answers

Acceptability: Peter Strevens remarks that it is easier to exemplify than to define local forms of English. Clearly the expatriate teacher is in no position to legislate either for or against a local form. Research is needed here, and a number of approaches have already been started. Jean Ure's approach has already been mentioned; her word involves a comparison of register systems and has featured studies into relative characteristics of British and Ghanaian English related to the situations of use. It is quite possible to imagine a course for primary and secondary schools along the lines of Miss Ure's own projected *Bridge Course* for teacher training colleges, which would relate English and its uses in a second language country to the local languages, so that the pupils learn that there are different forms

of their second language which relate to where the language is used and who the speakers are. This would avoid the danger that Prator foresaw in 1968 of prescriptive teaching of a local model. Another interesting approach to the problem of description was that used by a Ghana Broadcasting Corporation football commentator. This was compared with a BBC commentator's language. At the time of writing the 1974 paper, work had started on comparing two commentaries of the same match, one in English and one in a Ghanaian language, but this was, unfortunately, never completed. Once data of this nature is collected, a further possible step would be to conduct an acceptability survey along the lines of Quirk and Svartvik (1966) where sentences are offered for various functions to be performed on them to a cross section of speakers of the language concerned. This would, in theory, give a more reliable result than may be obtained through Birnie's approach, since the attention of the subjects would not be drawn to the fact that "errors" might be present. Information thus gained could be used in the construction of a realistic English language syllabus.

Pedagogy: The major change necessary to incorporate this more relative approach to the language situation in a second language country would be the adoption of a less censorious attitude to so-called "errors". Stress should be placed on communicative functions of the second language, and trainee teachers should be encouraged to examine in much more detail the types of English used in the country and their relation to the mother tongue(s). Another change that will be important is a shift in the traditional attitude that local forms are nothing more than second rate versions of the "metropolitan" forms of the second language arising from first language interference. This has frequently been shown to be far too simplistic to be accurate. Following from this would be a different attitude to pupil error. This will, of course, raise problems in assessment or examining. What seems to be most practical would be an approach that favoured the ability to use the language for: in the case of school leavers, the language skills most likely to be used by them after leaving, and in the case of those staying in formal education, the skills necessary for their further progress. Lip service has been paid for decades now to the idea that language is a tool to be used, but still the accent in most classrooms around the world is on accuracy rather than fluency. In short, the teacher's role could become altogether more positive than is often the case at the present; it would, in ideal conditions, shift the teacher's role from chastiser and corrector of mistakes to that of helper and organiser. An approach such as I have mentioned would involve much more classroom activity and especially role play/dramatic work. This again would have implications in teacher training. The higher up the academic ladder the student went, the closer to a metropolitan form would his target become, as his likelihood of needing to use the language for international communication increased.

Materials Production: In this field there would need to be a change from the tendency for text books to be written, as frequently they still are, outside the country in question. Teaching materials would have to relate much more speci-

fically to the situation of the country, or even the area, in which they would be used. There would be more scope for teachers to collaborate to produce some of their own materials. But all this would also be more demanding in terms of time, effort and imagination on the part of the teachers. This approach would also involve a language study course for the sixth form or its equivalent to carry on the preparation of the pupil for either employment or further study, thus easing the burden on university English departments or language centres and improving the linguistic competence of the output of sixth forms.

5 Conclusions

Briefly, the key phrases which I have used seem to be: fluency rather than accuracy, tolerance of a certain amount of what has traditionally been referred to as "error", a heightened consciousness both in teachers and learners of appropriacy – that is, a sense of the conditions in which certain language items are likely to occur – and a greater feeling of confidence of second language users that the forms produced are by no means second-rate imitations of a metropolitan model. Ayi Kwei Armah describes the actions of one of his characters seeking to show off his status as: "... irritating in the special way in which the efforts of a Ghanaian struggling to talk like some Englishman are irritating" (1968, p. 28). Given some measure of recognition for local forms, there would be no further point in this struggle.

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ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

(Talk recorded by R X Hindmarsh in Melbourne for broadcasting in June 1977 in the ABC 'Guest of Honour' programme reprinted here by kind permission of the Australian Broadcasting Commission)

People sometimes think of Britain and Australia as monolingual, countries with only one operational language: English. It is the language of business, of government, of education, of shopping, of society. But a moment's reflection will show that sizeable sections of the people of Australia carry out part or most, in a few cases all, of their day-to-day transactions in other languages: Greek, Italian, Serbo-Croat, or Pijinjanjara, one of the many aboriginal tongues. And in Britain we have Welsh and Gaelic as well as the mother tongues of immigrants – as we call them – especially Urdu, Hindi and Bengali. In fact there are few countries where smaller or larger communities do not use a language other than the dominant tongue for domestic, commercial or professional purposes: possibly Iceland is monolingual, and San Marino, a pocket state in Northern Italy, certainly only has Italian. But most countries operate in more than one language, and in different ways: There are minority languages in France, Sweden and New Zealand; Egypt has Greek, Greece has Albanian, Spain has Catalan. Some countries use a variety of languages in which none can be called truly dominant: Yugoslavia, India, Nigeria; and Tanzania, a country with the population of Australia, has about 80 – languages, not dialects.

In this profusion of mother tongues, how can we ensure that people can communicate with each other across language boundaries? Clearly it will not do to rely on like understanding like, as happens between educated Swedes, Norwegians and Danes, though with some difficulty and loss of efficiency. Nor can we conveniently regionalize: assigning English to Northern Europe and French to Southern, with Russian serving the Eastern European countries. People will not be marshalled into using an imposed language: they choose what suits the context in which they live. Thus English is used increasingly as a means of international communication in Spain, Italy and Greece, while Russian is scarcely a popular international medium in Poland or Romania. Even where a language has been spread by religion problems arise: the Arabic of the maghreb – Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia – is barely comprehensible in Iraq; while the attempt to establish modern standard Arabic, largely through the media, has not really extended beyond the Levant. Nor does the argument from population work. Chinese appears to be the language with the largest number of native speakers – but it comprises many spoken languages: Cantonese, Hokkien, Teeo-Chew, as well as Mandarin. The written form is shared, but to advocate Chinese as a language of international communication is patently unrealistic. *A fortiori,* Hindi will not work either; for even in India there are some fifteen other languages with official status: the 90 million speakers of Tamil in South India find Gujerati almost as incomprehensible as a mother tongue speaker of English finds Turkish.

Thus even within countries, such as India, there are sometimes problems in establishing one language as the main means of communication. So why not have two instead? In Finland, Finnish and Swedish enjoy parity of status; let a native Swedish-speaker join a discussion amongst Finnish speakers, and he will employ Finnish; but introduce a Finnish speaker to a group speaking their native Swedish, and they will switch to Finnish to accommodate the new arrival. In Canada, English and French are the official languages, and massive funding has been voted by Ottawa for the promotion of bilingualism, but what expectations are there that French will ever work as well as English in Vancouver, or English as well as French in Quebec?

Instead of bilingualism within a country then, what about using a *lingua franca* to mediate communciation? Police Motu a pidginized form of an indigenous language, attempts this for Papua-Niugini, and Bahasa Indonesia a lot more successfully for Australia's neighbour. Some *lingua francas* are used beyond national boundaries; such as Hausa along the southern edge of the Sahara, or Swahili in Eastern Africa. Such languages may also become the media of education, especially at primary levels, given the resources to train staff and provide materials, and assuming the languages themselves are capable of expressing the necessary information and ideas, or of being developed to do so. Where any one of these conditions is not present, recourse must be had to some other language to learn through, such as French for the upper levels of schooling in Chad or Niger, or English in Kenya. And beyond the field of education, the needs of banking, industry, trade and tele-communication often effectively establish the *lingua franca* for multilingual countries, for example English in Singapore.

In the case of all these variations, we may well ask: can there be one truly international language? A constructed language such as Esperanto may have its adherents, but viewed from Africa or Asia, this language looks highly European in vocabulary and grammar: why should an artificial language not be based more widely on the systems of other families of languages? But can such a composite language in fact be constructed? No – we must stay with real languages: they are organic. Arabic is understood from Senegal to Java; but its script, like that of Chinese, militates against international use. Spanish is spoken in the majority of Latin American countries, but is little known or used in the world beyond, apart from Spain. Russian is the language of secondary education right across the Soviet Union, amongst peoples with a wide variety of mother tongues from Lativian to Armenian, from Ukrainian to Yakut; and the language of administration and technology through this vast area. But beyond the borders of the USSR, Russian is barely used internationally: and moreover is written in Cyrillic script. It is certain that an international language must use the Roman alphabet.

No linguist will deny the prominence of English on the international scene: yet there are areas where the use of English is on the decline. Amongst India's

604 million people, many more have some knowledge of English now than 30 years ago; but while the numbers have risen, the quality and range of command has dropped, and the opportunities for using English have in general shrunk. In Malaysia, English is progressively being phased out as the medium of education in the secondary schools. In Fiji, the Department of Education are alarmed at the decline in communicative efficiency in English, which forms the only link between speakers of Mbau, the Fijian *lingua franca*, and the other half of the population, of Indian descent. And in South Africa, amongst the whites, native speakers of Afrikaans appear steadily to be becoming less proficient at English.

By and large, however, English is on the increase, and in a variety of contexts and purposes. In countries where English is spoken as the principal mother tongue, there is a slight to moderate increase in the number of English users. As an alternative all-purpose vehicle of communication, English is spreading gradually in countries such as Singapore, or amongst elites in certain African countries. A very marked rise is evident in the use of English for occupational purposes: English is the international language of the air, and failure to use it efficiently can endanger passenger safety. English is the language increasingly of banking and indsutry; many international firms based in non-English countries conduct their entire operation throughout the world in English and put promotion bans on staff without the requisite degree of proficiency in it. In commerce, a Japanese salesman sent to Peru will negotiate the contract in English. Articles on computer technology are written in English by Frenchmen for Frenchmen to read. Swedish nuclear physicists talk professionally to each other quite naturally in English.

In the field of education, the expansion in the use of English is even more dramatic. It is by far the commonest first foreign language taught in schools. Many countries in Africa use it as the medium of education, especially at the secondary level and beyond. In Thailand, Turkey, Mexico, Indonesia and Iran, English is required for study at the tertiary level, certainly for reading texts, often for listening to lectures, for writing papers, for taking part in a seminar discussion. At the postgraduate level, a knowledge of English can be regarded as indispensable.

And outside the education systems, more and more people are attending English classes, for instance at British Council centres in Southern Europe, the Middle East and South East Asia, or at schools of English as a Foreign Language in Britain. English is a commodity people seek eagerly to acquire, often at great expense, for broadly sociocultural purposes: to obtain information, to converse in multinational gatherings, to travel. Nowadays, at an airport or in a hotel bar, a Korean will address a Kuwaiti directly in English without asking him if he speaks the language; some degree of command is taken for granted.

There is no point in asking ourselves whether some other language might not be easier to learn: the world has opted for English, and the world knows what it wants, what will satisfy its needs. We can ask however what features of English

are likeliest to cause difficulty to learners, especially outside continental Europe. The sound system is often found hard to master: groups of consonants clustered together as in *strength;* or the 20 vowels of British English – the BBC kind on news broadcasts – far more than in most other tongues. But perhaps our stressing of certain syllables and shortening those in between gives most trouble: con*struc*tion (not kon-struk-tion); she *hasn't* been *there* (not *she has not been there*). The Vocabulary of English is enormous; the full Oxford Dictionary occupies several feet of shelf space comprising some half a million words. An educated mother tongue speaker of English understands perhaps 15 to 25,000 of them; but even that figure daunts the foreign learner. True, the grammar uses only a modest range of word endings, but the verb system is highly complex, with formations such as *he mightn't have been told;* and getting the prepositions right at times baffles even the Dutch.

What lessons can we draw from history? Precious few, it seems to me. Greek was the language of culture of the ancient world, and towards the end of the classical period had developed a demotic or common form, in a pretty rough variant of which much of The New Testament is written. But it dropped out of general use with the end of the Roman Empire. Latin itself fragmented into the Romance languages; Portuguese is not understood in France, nor Italian in Romania. French flourished in Europe for some two hundred years, but lost ground to nationalism in the nineteenth century, persisting into the twentieth as the language of diplomacy. English, with its wider geographical base, its 300 million native speakers, its utility as a tool of learning and its importance in science technology and commerce, is now incontestably the international language of the world. Whether it will be so a hundred years from now depends on political economic and cultural factors more than on the characteristics of the language itself: but one thing looks certain – English will not fragment as Latin did. The media will see to that.

EXPLORING THE DIVERSITY OF ENGLISH

by John Spencer

10th Triennial Congress of IAUPE: Poznan 1977

In the universities of the world, English is taught in a variety of ways, for many different purposes, and at a wide range of levels. The almost bewildering multiplicity of syllabuses, aims, methods and levels of achievement is understandable if we take account of the differences in the role of English in national life between one society and another; of the levels of competence in freshman university students as between one educational system and another; and also of the differences in traditions regarding the teaching of languages (including those assumed to be 'dead') between different cultures. These are all, of course, inter-related in complex ways, and are among the factors responsible for diversity in the nature and purpose of that protean institution 'the university department of English'.

Protean it certainly is, like that other institution which it sometimes resembles – marriage. For an English department commonly, and certainly in its traditional form, consists of two partners, language and literature. Like many marriages this partnership is sometimes irksome, and the pair only stay together, as they say, for the sake of the children. In other cases one knows of, the marriage has become unbearable; but the erstwhile partners, having set up house separately, continue to haggle over the estate, that is to say syllabuses, entrance requirements, and so on. Occasionally one of the partners has run off with a lover and is living in sin: English language with Linguistics, for instance; or rather more rarely and daringly, English Literature with Comparative Literature.

What I have to say will be more particularly relevant to those departments which work within a native English-speaking community, as in the case of my own university in Britain; and to departments in societies where English is widely used internally, is the medium for most levels of education, and so on, as is the case with the universities in the so-called 'anglophone' nations of Africa, which I know well. In other words, I am thinking of English departments which receive students either whose mother tongue is English, or for whom English, though it is not their mother tongue, has been the medium of instruction for much or sometimes for the whole of their pre-university schooling. In both cases the level of competence in English of entering freshmen is quite high. Among the native English-speaking students it is not as high as might often be supposed; but their proficiency in the language does incorporate a considerable store of experience of language variability, of the relation between styles and conventions of language use and the social contexts within which they are appropriate. Among the second language students the proficiency is usually quite high, but lacking a good deal of that knowledge of and sensitivity to the great variety of language to which the native speaker is inevitably exposed.

I want to consider briefly, for the sake of our later discussions, what we might do to explore, with our students, the great diversity of English: in order to expand their proficiency in its use, in order to permit them more clearly to understand the relation between the linguistic and the social in everyday life, and in order to help them perceive more fully and enjoy more richly the linguistic creativity of the literary artist.

I think it is probably unwise to make too rigid a distinction between teaching English and teaching about English. For at the advanced levels of English Studies which we are considering here, these are intimately related. But it is useful to bear the distinction in mind. (It is also helpful to bear in mind that teaching English, and teaching about English, are both different from teaching students about language in general, and exemplifying theoretical expositions with English sentences.) We would all agree that we cannot teach English satisfactorily to students who have already reached a fair level of proficiency in their use of the language, passive and active, without a good deal of explication of various kinds. And we might concede therefore that, provided the students are educationally mature and intellectually curious (which is perhaps a little utopian, but we must have faith!), the only way forward is by a combination of exploration and explanation, discovery and discussion, within the context of planned exposure to the language. This means the study of texts of various kinds. In other words, after a certain stage, we can best help students to learn more English by helping them to study English. But how do we do this?

Let me be frank. I think English language specialists need to do much better than they have done in the past in this respect. And I include both traditional philologist and modern linguist in this rebuke. I think also that literature specialists might be a little less dismissive of the contribution which the study of language can and should make to a rounded and humanising English Studies programme. I hope they will not be too dismissive of what I have to say.

In traditional English Departments in Britain – to parody, or at least to simplify a little – the formula for the division of labour between language and literature has been as follows: let the medieval language specialist get the student up to the Renaissance, and then let the specialist in literature take over. Of course, in many of our newer departments of English the pre-Renaissance literature apart from Chaucer hardly figures on the syllabus, and the traditional philologist not all on the staff. In English Departments in those areas of the world where English is a second language, and which have taken their basic academic design from Britain (often as a result of having been former colonies), this formula is somewhat modified: let the language teacher get the student up to a fair level of proficiency, and then let the specialist in literature take over. But, adds a post-independence caveat, there may be a need for linguists (ie linguisticians), because English co-exists here with many other languages, most of them little investigated, and the students being bilingual, the syllabus should take account of this.

The dominant strain in Linguistics over the past two decades (it is twenty years this year since Noam Chomsky's **Syntactic Structures** heralded a dialectical swing in linguistic theory) has been syntactical; and it has been of particular and exciting concern to linguistic theorists, psychologists and philosophers. But it has not been altogether positively helpful to English Studies. Professors of literature may be a bit chauvinistic when they condemn the new linguist as being merely 'old grammarian writ large' – but they are not entirely wrong. Indeed for sixty years or more, ever since de Saussure presaged and contributed to the split between synchronists and diachronists in language studies, it must be said that the concentration on the 'systeme du langue', on the 'structure' of language, by linguistic scholars has not been matched by any equivalent interest in, or devotion to an understanding of, the semantic richness, the flexibility, the fluidity almost, of language as an instrument of thought and expression, used not by automata equipped with 'language acquisition devices', but by feeling and thinking individuals each of whom can, and on occasions does, manipulate the language in ways previously unthought-of, unheard-of and undreamed-of. Many of us must feel that only when they have got well beyond the boring problems of 'John is easy to please/John is eager to please' will this school of linguists have much that is serious to offer to the study of literature and its language.

I said this was the dominant strain; but the university study of English, what I called teaching about English, or helping the students to study English, is by no means simply a question of teaching the phonology, morphology and syntax of English. During the past two decades, building for the most part on older traditions of language study, valuable contributions to the study of English have come from other quarters. It is to a few of these I wish to draw attention, for it is from some of these relatively new directions that we may be able to put together a revitalised English language component, or set of components, which may fit together better, and which may, in varying mixtures, dovetail more sensibly with literary studies.

The first contribution might come from the range of studies nowadays subsumed under the term sociolinguistics. Here the emphasis is on the social context of language use. This is not a new notion, of course. What is relatively new is the attempt to grapple in some kind of systematic way with the manysidedness, the multivariance, of this social context; and to meet the implications of this notion in detailed observations of language in action. For this purpose no type of discourse is to be excluded. And we can now begin to see more clearly how conventionalised formulae, genres, styles and types of discourse, in speech and in writing, represent a vast variability and flexibility in English in use. We can observe this variability not only in 'face-to-face interaction', as the sociologist's phrase has it, but also in the forms of English used by specialists of all kinds; and, too, in the one-way traffic of the written and spoken English of contemporary mass communication – advertising, journalism, radio, television – where English is a vehicle for a whole complex range of rhetorical and mimetic purposes, overt and

covert, acknowledged and unacknowledged. By systematic observation, and with the aid of cautiously proposed categories and typologies, we can enhance our students' 'way of looking', increase their sensitivity to language in use, and enlarge their linguistic sensibilities. We and they can begin to understand better the relationships that seem to hold between linguistic forms – syntactical, semantic and phonological – and conventionalised behaviour patterns within different regional, social, professional and perhaps ethnic groupings; between these and the demands of the individual's rhetorical strategies – what his use of language is for at any given point; and between all these and the wider social processes within which human communication takes place.

True, this is a very broad and all-embracing field of investigation; and unfortunately it is already spawning some narrow specialists and some unfortunate terminology. But it can help to make that important connection between individual and social in language use; it can make use of structural description and force us to face the need for a sophisticated semantics; it can relate form to function, and use our grammar, our phonology and our semantics, not as a game for a new species of **homo ludens academicus**, but as a component in a new rhetoric which can show us more clearly, in J R Firth's phrase, 'how we use language to live'. And it can break the linguistic theorist's tendency to concentrate on language, viewed abstractly, as a homogenous code; and instead stress the diversity and flexibility of a language, viewed concretely, in action, and the potential uniqueness of utterance.

Here we have a basis for the beginnings of a revitalised study of present-day English. But an important proviso must be made. As I hinted earlier, our explorations with our students of the socially sensitive nature of language and its extensive variability should not be undertaken without constant and copious exemplification. Any study of English deriving from new sociolinguistic insights must be firmly text-based, assuming 'text' to be either spoken or written, and not necessarily or principally literary. Properly devised and planned, explorations of language variety in a text-based course on present-day English can, for a first-language student, bring to a level of conscious and systematic awareness his own acquired intuitions and responses to language. For the second-language student of English such work, perhaps differently ordered and organised, may be used to extend the student's inevitably restricted sense of the variety and range of present-day English; thus deepening his linguistic understanding and increasing his proficiency and flexibility in the use of the language.

Such programmes of textual observation, analysis and comparison, paying due respect to social context and moving towards a new rhetoric of language use, can if required be articulated with the study of literary texts. Here we move towards the practical utilisation of what has come to be called 'stylistics' – a term I dislike if it implies any kind of distinct discipline. Certainly the link between socio-linguistic studies of present-day English and stylistic studies of literary texts can

usefully be made. But we must be cautious. We can find plenty of examples of linguists exploring a literary text as if it were any other piece of language – and in consequence making themselves ridiculous. For with a literary text we move out of the ongoing social process, even though the language of literature is closely related to, and in some essential ways dependent upon, the endless comings and goings of language in everyday use. And with a literary text we also move, almost always, into the historical past. And it is worth reminding ourselves how difficult it is to recapture the precise weight and nuance of a word or an expression even from as little as fifty years ago, especially so perhaps if it is embedded not in the social process, but extracted from that flux and embedded in a particular literary form. Is the precise colour and texture of the language of **The Waste Land**, as first received and felt at its publication in 1922, in any sense fully recoverable?

In order to develop the close study of literary texts we need to draw help from wherever we can. We need to take note of what George Steiner has called 'internal translation': the relocation of a literary text, by patient exegesis and sensitive literary and linguistic contextualisation, into its own period, in order to 'translate' as much of its original meaning for us today. We therefore need to know, and to teach, a good deal more of the social history of English, to bring to the fore more of what is already known of the semantic history of English in the past four centuries, usually referred to as the Modern English period. The period, we may recall, at the beginning of which, like God on the seventh day, most philologists rest and let their literary colleagues get on with it. And our students – and some of our literary colleagues – do get on with it! Students gallop across acres of literature on the assumption that all the language from about 1700 onwards is much of a muchness, and what minor differences there are between one period or century and another at this stage in its history constitute no obstacle to understanding. I think there can be such obstacles, though they are subtle and less obvious, and in consequence more misleading, than in the case of medieval texts – unless of course by 'understanding' we mean merely gaining an overall impression, as a man may get an overall impression of the countryside by driving through it at fifty miles an hour. Why not go on foot sometimes? When we do – or rather when our students do – they find they do not know the difference between one tree and another, cannot name birds by their songs and calls, and have lost the names of wild flowers and herbs. They cannot locate or define or name the detail of the texture.

What I have tried to hint at – I can do little more in such short space – is that the detailed study of the English language should not end where regularised orthography begins; that the study of the English language at university level, whether to native speakers or otherwise, should not concentrate solely on structure; that linguistics is not necessarily language study, and that language study in the Modern period, including its present-day diversity, should be text-based as it always was for the earlier periods of the language. Teaching students to understand the nature of the English language, its variety and its flexibility, by observation and textual exploration, to appreciate more fully how the individual manipulates it from

moment to moment, and how societies change and shape it from generation to generation, is in itself a worthy and humanising endeavour. Such language study can also, I would like to suggest, enrich and support the study of literature. But then, literature specialists and language specialists would have to begin to talk to one another again!

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Bangladesh	Education Profile of Bangladesh. June 1977. 33pp.	954.91 ABK
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China	Brumfit, C. Some notes on English teaching in the Peoples Republic of China. 1976. 4pp.	951 OX
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Hong Kong	Survey of the use of English in Hong Kong – Preliminary findings. Received September 1977. 8pp.	951.25 IBS
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Cameroon
Finland
India (East)
India (Northern Region)
India (South)
India (West & Central)
Japan
New Zealand
Rwanda
Sudan
Uruguay

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NEWS ITEMS

Saffron Walden International College. From September 1977, the Bell Educational Trust, which already operates schools in Cambridge, Norwich and Bath, will be offering a new range of courses for students from abroad at Saffron Walden International College. The College, formerly a College of Education, offers up to two-hundred residential places. Students will occupy single study bedrooms and will enjoy the use of excellent facilities for study, (including a 30,000 volume library), for sport (several acres of sports fields and a well equipped gymnasium), and extensive provision for music and the Arts. (There are several music practice rooms, and an excellent arts centre with painting and pottery studios, a dark room for photography, and workshops for other activities.) The college will develop strong links with the Saffron Walden community, and will encourage the use of its facilities by local residents with interests in the Arts, sport and International Studies. It is hoped that a Theatre in Education Group will be based at the college during its first year of operation. Much of the work of the College will be a development of language teaching activities already established at other Bell Schools, including English for Special Purposes, courses for teachers from the United Kingdom and abroad, and a wide range of General English courses with options in the Social Sciences, International Studies, Literature, Drama and the Cinema.

University of Lancaster: Institute for English Language Education. The University offers now several in service TEFL courses for overseas undergraduate and post-graduate students. These courses are designed to meet the needs of experienced teachers seeking intensive courses which serve, either to up-date their present expertise, or to introduce them to new areas of work relevant to the English Language Curriculum, theory and research, methodology, materials, and evaluation techniques. The courses are also designed for teachers studying at other institutions – especially overseas – who wish to attend a summer school which may be recognised as part of their studies for their home institution. The institute also offers courses of an advanced and specialist nature for experienced teachers and administrators. Such courses last for about 3 weeks and are designed as intensive workshops with the emphasis on application. The themes for these workshops will vary from year to year. It is hoped to meet the particular needs of 3 types of students: 1. Initial courses for students with little English Language proficiency. These courses begin in January each year and last for 9 months. 2. Intermediate courses beginning in April each year and lasting for up to 6 months. 3. Advanced courses specifically designed to further purposes of particular groups of students. These would include, for example, courses in English for Special Purposes (Pre-sessional Courses in English for Academic Purposes as job orientated courses in English for Occupational Purposes). Such Advanced courses are normally offered in the summer vacation, between July and September each year, and they usually last from 1 to 3 months.

Advanced English Language Summer School. York University holds an advanced English Language summer school, dealing with English for Scientists, Social Scientists, and Linguists, and Language Teachers. Groups of about 10 students will be formed for teaching the individual or related subjects. Special teaching materials have been prepared in co-operation with the relevant university departments.

Foreign Language Teaching Congress, Dortmund 1978. The 8th work session for foreign language teachers in colleges and educational institutes in Federal Germany will be held from 25–27 September 1978. The topics will be 1. Foreign languages for all: problems for school and society, 2. Foreign language teaching research and teaching practice, main lecture: Towards a systematic understanding of foreign language teaching, 3. Education and further education of foreign language teachers. In addition there will be platform discussions, short lectures and general discussions. For further information contact: Ruhr College of Education, Department VII, Language and Literature Studies, Postfach 380,4600 Dortmund 50.

The 11th AIMAV Colloquium will be held in Brussels from 7 to 13 May 1978 at the Royal Library Albert I, social seat of AIMAV, and at the Royal Art Museum of Belgium. The general theme of Colloquium will be: Creativity and Learning Dynamics. The work of the colloquium will take place within the context of cultural, artistic, pedagogical, and technical manifestations relating to the general theme. In order to achieve the specificity of the colloquium proper and for the purpose of promoting the efficiency of its conclusions, the subjects dealt with will relate more particularly to the following theme: Creativeness in learning and in the teaching of languages. Details can be obtained from: University of Ghent, Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, Blandijnberg 2, 9000 Gent, Belgium.

The Fifth International Symposium on Computing in Literary and Linguistic Research will be held at the University of Aston in Birmingham, England, from 3–7 April 1978. It is expected that papers will be presented in the following sections: Authorship studies; Concordances; Classical studies; Education;

Input/Output; Language-oriented groups (English, French Dutch etc); Lexicography; Literary Statistics; Oriented studies; Software; Stylistic anlaysis; Syntactic analysis; Text editing. Papers are invited in these sections for presentation to the Conference and proposals for new or different sections will be welcomed. Accommodation will be provided in the University.

The FIPLV World Congress takes place in Lucerne 27 March to 1 April 1978. During the **Congress on Language Learning** one afternoon (28 March) will be devoted to papers read by contributors from FIPLV member associations. Papers in English will include: Plurilingualism in Alsace (Antoine Beck); World Languages and Home Languages in West African Education (C M B Brann); Language Teaching in a Multicultural society (D E Ingram); The communicative Importance of English (John Andrews).

The 5th International Congress of Applied Linguistics takes place from August 21–26, 1978, in Montreal. Papers will be presented in the following fields: 1. Second Language Teaching and Learning; 2. First Language Teaching and Learning; 3. Language Teachers' Training; 4. Languages for Special Purposes; 5. Measuring, Rating, Testing; 6. Bilingualism and Multi-culturalism; 7. Language Planning and Policy; 8. Sociolinguistics; 9. Psycholinguistics; 10. Centres for Studies for Research on Language; 11. Linguistics Applied to Mental Health Sciences; 12. Neuro-linguistics and Speech Pathology; 13. Lexicology, Lexicography, Terminology; 14. Translation; 15. Contrastive Linguistics; 16. Quantitative, Cybernetic and Computational Linguistics; 17. Writing Codes and Graphic Systems. The German FIPLV member Fachverband Moderne Fremdsprachen (FMF) is planning to organize a group flight to Montreal. Inquiries should be mailed to: Dr F J Zapp, Hedwigstrabe 4, D-8000 München 19. Address all correspondence to: Jacques D Girard, Secretary General of the 1978 AILA Congress, University of Montreal, Box 6128, Station "A", Montreal (Quebec), Canada H3C 3J7.

Symposium on Testing. There will be a Symposium on the Direct Testing of Speaking Proficiency held at Georgetown University on March 15th and 16th 1978. Information about the symposium can be obtained from: Dr John L D Clark, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey 08540, USA. (AILA Commission on Language Tests and Testing).

Self-Assessment for Adult Language Learning. Mats Oskarsson is working on a Guided Self-Assessment for Adult Language Learning. Self-assessment cannot replace conventional testing, but it can play an important role in the measurement of language proficiency. Dr Oskarsson is interested in contacting colleagues who are also working in this area. He can be reached by the following address: Dr Mats Oskarsson, Language Teaching Research Center, University of Göteborg, Lärahögskolan, S-431 20 Molndal, Sweden. (AILA Commission on Language Tests and Testing).

RECENT PUBLICATIONS: BOOKS, FILMS AND TAPES

COLLINS ENGLISH LIBRARY
Editors: KR Cripwell & Lewis Jones
Collins Educational 1977– Individually priced

The graded readers in this new series aim first and foremost to provide learners of English with a pleasurable reading experience. To achieve this aim, they are written in carefully graded English that does not demand constant stoppages to look up strange words or check unknown structures. The language base of the porject provides students with books tailored to their linguistic competence. The titles include: 'The Canterville Ghost', 'I will be called John', 'The White South', Pride and Prejudice', 'The Guns of Navarone', 'Wuthering Heights' and 'Geordie'. There is a teachers' guide for the series and five specially written Reading Comprehension books.

COX, A; GRANT; N; O'NEILL, H
English Examined
Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1977 245pp

This is a book of exercises, mainly intended for revision, for the student preparing for the O Level or School Certificate Examination ih English. There are Units on grammar, Comprehension, Summary, Composition, and Oral English, those on Comprehension, Summary and Composition approximate to those found in the examinations. There are answers to many of the exercises at the back of the book, and the Oral section has an accompanying cassette which is an essential part of it. The book was written to accompany a series of programmes produced by the BBC but it can be used as a separate course.

LABOV, W
Language in the Inner City
Basil Blackwell, 1977 411pp

Studying the normal processes of communication in the inner city, the author advances conclusive arguments for the existence of the black vernacular as a separate and independent dialect of English with its own internal logic and grammar. His analysis of this vernacular goes beyond it to clarify the nature and processes of linguistic change in the context of a changing society. There is an extensive bibliography.

J LEHTONEN; K SAJAVAARA; A MAY
Spoken English
Gummerus, 1977 160pp

An introduction to the basic concepts and processes in speech communication for Finnish students of English. It should also be useful to practising teachers of English and it contains opinion on certain background criteria for language teaching programmes so should also appeal to a wider audience. It is written on a contrastive basis so learners of Finnish should also find it useful. There is a bibliography and suggestions for further reading.

MAXWELL, CHRISTINE
The new Pergamon Oxford dictionary of perfect spelling
Pergamon Press 1977 320pp £3.20
paper £1.80

A dictionary designed for children and students, to encourage them to use a dictionary and giving them a greater chance of locating the correct spelling of the required word. To do this it uses common mis-spellings alongisde the correct spellings. Over 20,000 words are listed, including an extensive Science and Technology vocabulary. There are also useful collections of scientific tables, tables of weights and measures, maps of the world and the British Isles, some spelling rules and a list of Christian names, some abbreviations in general use. A booklet of related exercises written specially for use with this dictionary titled 'Practise your Spelling' is also available.

MOUNTFIELD, ANNE
The Regions of Britain: London
George G Harrap Ltd, 1977 46pp

This book describes London from a point of view different to that of the tourist guide. It is written from the point of view of someone actually living in London. It gives the student opinions of such things as high rise housing, London pubs, and London shops. There are chapters on historical and ceremonial London, on London's parks and London's communications. Also, there are chapters on the government of London and the central government of Whitehall. The book ends with a set of project exercises designed to improve the students knowledge of London and English customs in addition to his English.

PEARCE, M R
English Sign Language
George G Harrap Ltd 68pp

This book exposes students to the kind of reading matter which would inevitably face them in England, but which tends to be neglected in school. It deals with the multitude of signs in streets, shops, and on all forms of packaging. The book

contains some 120 photographs of actual signs and notices and covers thirteen themes: entering and leaving Britain; travel on trains, cars and buses; food and drink; accommodation; towns; shops; countryside; seaside; places of interest; communications; leisure; danger; medical. Each picture has beside it a brief explanation together with questions to help the student understand the particular sign.

STREVENS, PETER, with English Language Services inc.
English 903 – a basic course
Collier Macmillan London, 1977.

A Course aimed at the beginning and intermediate levels of EFL. A development of English 901, adapted for use with Secondary school-children. The course consists of 6 textbooks, 4 programmed work books, tapes, teachers books and associated tests.

WHITESON, V; MACKIN, R
More Varieties of Spoken English
Oxford University Press, 1977 87pp

The book accompanies a set of six tapes or cassettes and is intended to help the student cope with the enormous variety of accents used by native speakers of English. The book consists of exercises based on the tapes which take the form of talks, discussions and lectures covering a wide range of topics from the dangers of overeating to the poetry of W H Auden. The accents used are Australian, Scottish, South African, American, Nigerian and English. The topics can be considered as vehicles for the teaching or learning of educated discourse in English.

FILMS AND TAPES

DAVIDSON, PATRICIA
Tense Time
Longman, 1977

"Tense Time;", is a set of extension materials in spoken English based on a selection of tapes produced in the Council's English Language Teaching Institute. It consists of 3 books, each of which includes explanations, exercises and transcripts of the tapes, plus suggestions on how the materials should be exploited, and 3 accompanying tapes. These tape-based materials are designed for revision, remedial or reinforcement work, dealing with the English verb system and are suitable for intermediate, post intermediate and advanced students. Perhaps the most striking feature about the publication is that each section is fully contextualised within a developing story line with each dialogue, drill or other exercise internally contextualised within that section.

TOMALIN, BARRY
Songs Alive
BBC English by Radio & TV, 1977 Handbook £2.00

Eleven traditional songs from the English speaking world including 'Greensleeves', 'Waltzing Matilda', 'Auld Lang Syne' etc recorded on audio cassette and on film/video cassette. The illustrated handbook contains the words and music of the songs with simplified guitar arrangements and brief background information.

10 x 15 minute 16 mm films or video cassettes £80.00 each
1 C-60 cassette £5.00

FORTHCOMING FILM
"Activity Days in Language Learning"
16 mm colour Comopt 17 27 mins

This is "Activity Day" on an intensive English Language Course at the British Council's English Language Teaching Institute in London. The film shows how the day is organised to cope with individual learner's needs, how and why students select activities for themselves, and how they carry out the various tasks. There are 4 activity rooms:

1. **The Listening Room**
Students choose from a selection of taped programmes differing in levels of difficulty, subject matter and type of task. Written instructions placed in each language laboratory booth tell them what they have to do. Scripts of each programme are available for checking their understanding after listening.

2. **The Press Room**
A wide range of newspapers and magazines are provided and students either carry out tasks outlined on the blackboard or pursue their own interests, according to their particular needs.

3. **The Research Room**
Students select from a wide range of research tasks. These are information gathering exercises based on bibliographies, indexes, dictionaries, timetables, professional journals and other reference material. Students time themselves into forming each task and check their own answers against answer cards.

4. **The Games Room**
A wide range of games are available which students can play on their own, in pairs on in groups. There is a great deal of oral interaction between the students as they cope with the communication problems arising out of the games.
The teachers are Diana Basterfield, Marion Geddes, Jim Kerr and Gill Sturtridge. Marion Geddes also planned the film. The film will be ready early in 1978. The price and distribution information will be given in our next issue.

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